[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

When a man is ill and dies, it is said that he left [illegible] goats, [illegible] sheep, [illegible] cattle, and [illegible] donkeys. The dwellings are made to the left side.

There is also a regular belief in a future life. A man's spirit is said to go underground to the home of [illegible], a land of the spirits, which is under the earth, and is a fine place.

Origin.

There are [illegible] [illegible] of gods, [illegible] who are [illegible], and who govern people from getting food by means of their gifts. There are also [illegible] [illegible] of animals, [illegible]. There is an institution of the medicine [illegible] system of "white water" or milk by a multitude.

Architecture and Houses.

(a) *Architecture.*—The native [illegible], the [illegible] of the [illegible] has to work, almost only the [illegible] of a species of [illegible], called "[illegible]" ([illegible]), and [illegible]. This [illegible] is utilized as the [illegible] post, and is [illegible] to [illegible]. The [illegible], a [illegible] called "[illegible]" is burned; this is used for all their [illegible].

(b) *Houses.*—Children [illegible] a house to [illegible] of the [illegible]. [illegible], which is similar to that [illegible] by [illegible]. [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and the wife are directed largely towards intervention in behaviour and morality, though a young married pair may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and love to behave in their relations, the grandparents in particular have a great deal to do with this aspect of education.

The part played by ancestors or strangers is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no ancestors immediately at hand, and it is only in the settlements that their influence can be at all effective. In Kikuyu there was in 1939 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and two unmarried elementary; and at Tokaanu a widow with two small children might have to live which elsewhere for help in bringing up her children, as well as to have other children and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with elements than with relatives. This is very different from the Kikuyu, who do not live in the settlements and among whom elements are much less important than relatives in their matters.

5. The age-set system

In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without the attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no basic solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot bind the behaviour of members towards each other to any carefully prescribed and strictly regulated, and as behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with regard to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Kikuyu.

Age-sets, grade, plus ceremonial, are an African institution adopted by the Kikuyu and Masai, and borrowed from the Kikuyu by the Kikuyu. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or locality are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are set progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Kikuyu man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, however, do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

435 1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagial of honey.
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared antelope skin.
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared antelope skin.
2 baskets of cereal seed for 1 basket (*kevpat*).
1/- worth of trade beads for 1 gourd full of honey.

[404] The bag used as a measure for honey is the smaller size of *kevpat*, measuring 7 or 8 ins. by 6 ½ or 7 ins. The gourd is about 10 ins. long. The large pot stands about 20 ins. high, the small, about 10 ins., and the large antelope skin is usually a bushbuck, the small one a duiker.

437 There are no special market places or places of exchange. The Dorobo
434 go to the nearest smith or potter and make a bargain, returning later with
[443] the exchange equivalent to collect the goods. There is no language difficulty
[197] in these transactions, for the Dorobo language is no more than an easily understood dialect of Nandi. Getting iron or pottery means going into the Reserve, but to get seeds, tobacco or beads they need only go to the nearest friendly Nandi who has what they want and is willing to make the exchange. Sometimes plant material of medicinal value (i. e. what they think is medicinal value) is substituted for some of the regular exchange articles, but the above list represents the ordinary practice. When Dorobo have money with which to buy what they want instead of exchanging goods, they have the choice of going to the shops at either Songhor in the south, or else at Aruwa in the Nandi Reserve, where there is a collection of Indian shops. The men do not
[562] like their womenfolk to go to these places unescorted, but occasionally some of the bolder ones try to slip away unobserved to Aruwa; they seldom go to Songhor, as it is in the European area.

476 No human group can exist without some form of co-operation, and even when a man lives alone, as he may have to among the Dorobo, he is not because of that cut off from or unable to share in the activities of his horde. Within the family people are interdependent, and in the settlement they help each other. The main activities in which people normally co-operate are four in number: 1. House-building; 2. Hunting; 3. Digging earth; 4. Cultivation.
[462] (1) Building huts is women's work, which a man will do if he has no wife, and
[224] for which he will get help from a relative or clansfellow. (2) When people
[317] hunted game they usually went out in parties, and the kill was shared among them. (3) Digging earth means a journey of anything up to 10 miles round the edge of the forest and into country where nowadays there are strangers, so people find it both safer and more convenient to go in parties, for though they are in no danger of being attacked, their unconquerable shyness demands numbers to give confidence. (4) In a family or clan group, though each individual has his own shamba, he will expect both to help and to be helped by the other members.
[241]

[276] Together with the spirit of co-operation is the rule of joint consumption. We have already seen how meat is shared according to definite rules; and among the Dorobo certain other things which are hard to come by must also be shared. The chief of these is tobacco, of which when a man has acquired even a small supply, he is supposed to give some to his father, to his wife's

/246 cont./

000 /footnote 1 continued/ be a substantial therapeutic advance to be recorded here." From "Uber Acocanthera Schimperi als Mittel bei Herzkrankheiten/On Acocanthera Schimperi as a Remedy for Heart Ailments." By L. Lewin and E. Stallmann. From a report delivered to the Berliner medizinischen Gesellschaft /Berlin Medical Society/. Berlin, 1906).

278 824 Although the tree is not rare in the steppe around Kilimandscharo, its poisonous nature nevertheless generally seems to be known only to the Wandorobo, since other tribes do not manufacture the poison themselves. Thus the former sell it, for example, to the Wadschagga, the [479] Wakahe, the Wakuafi of Aruscha tschini and of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, the Wapare, etc. To brew the poison two Wandorobo always go a few thousand meters away from the camp into the bush. After they have collected branches and roots of Acocanthera abyssinica, they split them into thumb-thick sticks and prepare for the cooking in separate places. The wood is boiled for several hours in an earthen pot that is half filled with river water. Then it is removed, and the liquid obtained is thickened by further cooking to a viscous porridge-like consistency. The finished poison is black and looks like pitch. 278 During its preparation no woman may come either in the vicinity of • 562 the poison pot or in that of the man doing the cooking. The woman 834 who brings food and firewood therefore places these objects within [784] calling distance. They believe that the effect of the poison is weakened or entirely destroyed through the contact or even merely the presence of a woman, whose person they, in their naïve beliefs, are unable to separate from the idea of sexual intercourse -- since the latter, according to their view, is an element acting against the poison. The same would be the case if the wife had intercourse with another man during the time the husband is busy preparing the poison, or if the husband cooked the poison while his wife was pregnant. The [415] finished poison is stored in a wooden pot (madjé) or in a leather bag /347/ (amóta), and, to be sure, like the quivers with the poisoned arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp.

/247 cont./

278 562 834 [888] arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, crampllke muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 10 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Aasá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

278 411 224 [230] [281]

278 752

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the ol mgg[1]a whom they call mondo. It is not possible to give a general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol lononi is also completely without rights before the ol donyoni. The Wandorobo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs alja matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1. [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/263 cont./

695 besides the ordeals, the bier test also prevails as a means of convicting the one accused. In contrast to the Masai, here the innocent one accused receives no compensation.

562 694 695 Women may appear as witnesses before the court, but they are not entitled to make a complaint; rather, their husbands make the complaint for them.

672 934 Here, too, the mentally ill occupy an exceptional position in legal matters, /264/ in that they remain unpunished for offenses that are atoned for by fines. They are not chained, but are allowed to go about freely, and, as long as they are harmless, they are given shelter and food. This is denied to the mentally ill who are dangerous, because of which they quickly perish.

XVI.

000 The story of the discovery of arrow poison. -- Other stories and fables.

538 The stories of the Wandorobo describe for the most part their own hunting experiences, especially, of course, those of a peculiar nature and with large, dangerous game. It is probably to be taken for granted that in this "hunter's yarns" also run through them.

The Discovery of Arrow Poison

539 224 278 411 A poor widow, whom no one wanted to take in and feed, roamed steppe and bush daily, in order to appease her hunger miserably with roots, berries, and tree bark. One day she chewed on a small piece of bark that was distinguished by a very bad taste. Soon afterwards vomiting set in so violently that she was sick for a few days. She thought: "I should probably have died if I had eaten any more of it; since I can not hunt game, perhaps I can kill it with this." When she was well again, she went with her pot to the place in the steppe where in a rocky basin there was water to which the wild animals came to drink. Here, for several days in succession, she boiled the wood of the poison bush and kept pouring the liquid into the little pool. Finally one morning she found ten dead buffalo lying in its